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ABSTRACT

The German educational system consists of schools for general education, vocational schools, technical colleges, and universities. Preschool education for children ages 3-5, one of the major areas for reform efforts, is a private enterprise supported by churches, industry, and individuals. The number of preschools needs to be increased and the training of personnel updated. The character and structure of Germany's primary school education, which includes grades 1-4, has changed from a folk-oriented curriculum to one in which subject matter is taught in separate courses. Following primary school, there are four secondary Level I schools encompassing grades 5-10 which are open to children: 1) the main school (Hauptschule) which teaches students about their cultural heritage and provides them with citizenship skills; 2) middle school (Realschule) which prepares students for jobs in areas such as agriculture, commerce, and government; 3) academic secondary schools (Gymnasium) which prepares students for university study; and 4) comprehensive schools (Gesamtschule), a laboratory for educational reform where students choose subjects according to their interests and abilities. At the upper level of the secondary school or Level II students prepare for the university or take specialized courses in vocational or technical education. The tertiary level of education includes universities and institutes of higher education. The publication also discusses the development of new curricula (the most important task of educational reform in Germany today), teacher education, and how the educational system treats the children of foreign workers. (Author/RM)

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Education in West Germany: A Quest for Excellence

By Hans G. Lingens and Barbara Lingens

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Hans Lingens, born in Germany at the outset of World War II and educated there, was brought up in a teacher's family. He attended the Gymnasium and studied natural sciences at the University of Cologne. After emigrating to the U.S. in 1965, he continued his studies at the University of Southern California where he received his B.S. in science, M.S. in secondary education, and Ed.D. in curriculum and instruction. Since 1968 he has taught high school science in the Los Angeles Unified School District where he has also been very much involved with minority and multicultural education. His major research interests are curricular development and comparative education.

Barbara Lingens's interest in German education stemmed from personal curiosity: "My parents were educated there under the old ways, and I wanted to know what is now different." When her husband Hans began writing on the subject, she got an opportunity to do some research. Prior to raising three children, she spent several years on the editorial staff at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California, where she also served as an administrative assistant. She received her B.A. from Pomona College and her M.B.A. from California Lutheran College in Thousand Oaks, where she now resides.

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On its forty-eighth anniversary, the USC Chapter is proud of its previous fastback authors, Emery Stoops, Joyce King-Stoops, Merle B. Marks, and Johanna K. Lemlech.

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Introduction

When Herr and Frau Schmidt send 6-year-old Dieter off to *Grundschule* (primary school) in North Rhine-Westphalia this year, they will probably recall their own first day of school, with its *Zuckertüte*—a paper cone filled with goodies—and all the hard work that followed. The custom of the *Zuckertüte* remains, but the Schmidts realize that certain aspects of Dieter's education will be different from theirs. And as Dieter progresses through the school system, they will realize how other changes are evolving.

The changes that have taken place in the West German education system have come about for political and historical reasons related to conditions that arose before and after World War II. While achieving greater efficiency and some uniformity throughout the educational system, the reforms in the German system have been guided by the following goals:

1. Providing equal educational opportunity
2. Furthering the individual's talents and abilities
3. Postponing early decisions about educational careers and maintaining ability to change decisions
4. Offering a broad variety of subjects in accordance with the demands of society

To achieve these goals, three components had to be dealt with: 1) structural reform of the education system, 2) reform of teacher training, and 3) reform of the curriculum.

Although all levels of the education system have been affected by reform efforts, the secondary schools have received most attention and

experimentation. In Germany secondary schools traditionally were of three types: the main school (Hauptschule), middle school (Realschule), and academic secondary school (Gymnasium). Each had its own rigid curriculum and methods of instruction, requiring students to adjust to the offering in the particular school with little attention given to the individual talents and development of the students. Thus Dieter's parents' future was fairly well determined as soon as they entered one of the schools. With the curriculum in each school so fixed, there was little opportunity for a student to transfer from one to another.

In addition, the socioeconomic status of the Schmidts' parents was an important factor in determining what kind of education they would receive. As recently as the late Sixties, only 5% of the students who finished what could be considered a college-equivalent education came from blue-collar worker families; whereas in the U.S. 30% came from this group. Children from rural areas, children from working class families, and girls were at a disadvantage in this system.

Beginning in the Sixties, this tripartite system, which is really the foundation for the universities and the highly specialized technical schools in Germany, came under close scrutiny. Before discussing what reforms were attempted and how they were approached, a brief look at the history of the educational system and a discussion of its structure is necessary. Teacher education is considered in a separate section, as is the problem of the foreign workers' children.

A History of German Education

The Schmidt family has a rich educational heritage. Although the first schools in Germany were for the clergy and nobility, around the thirteenth century secular schools were established in the larger cities to give practical education to merchants and tradespeople. In 1348 the first university was founded in Prague, and by the end of the eighteenth century there were 42 universities. To prepare for the university, students had to attend Latin schools in the cities. These schools later expanded and came under state control. This is a salient aspect of German education. The feudal states that eventually joined to form Germany always considered themselves as separate entities. As these states evolved, they continued to think this way and discouraged any infringement on their traditional areas of rule. While the first schools were open only to very few, general education for all came toward the end of the eighteenth century when the tripartite system developed. Vocational schools were first established around the turn of the twentieth century.

For over 150 years various attempts have been made to overcome the vertical structure of the educational system and to replace it with a more horizontal structure (see Figure 1). However, since the school structure was believed to represent the three major social levels of the population, it was difficult to make many inroads. The most prestigious school was the academic secondary school (Gymnasium), which was highly specialized. The Gymnasia for classical languages dominated, but there were also schools for modern languages, mathematics, science, and other subjects. The first real effort to democratize the

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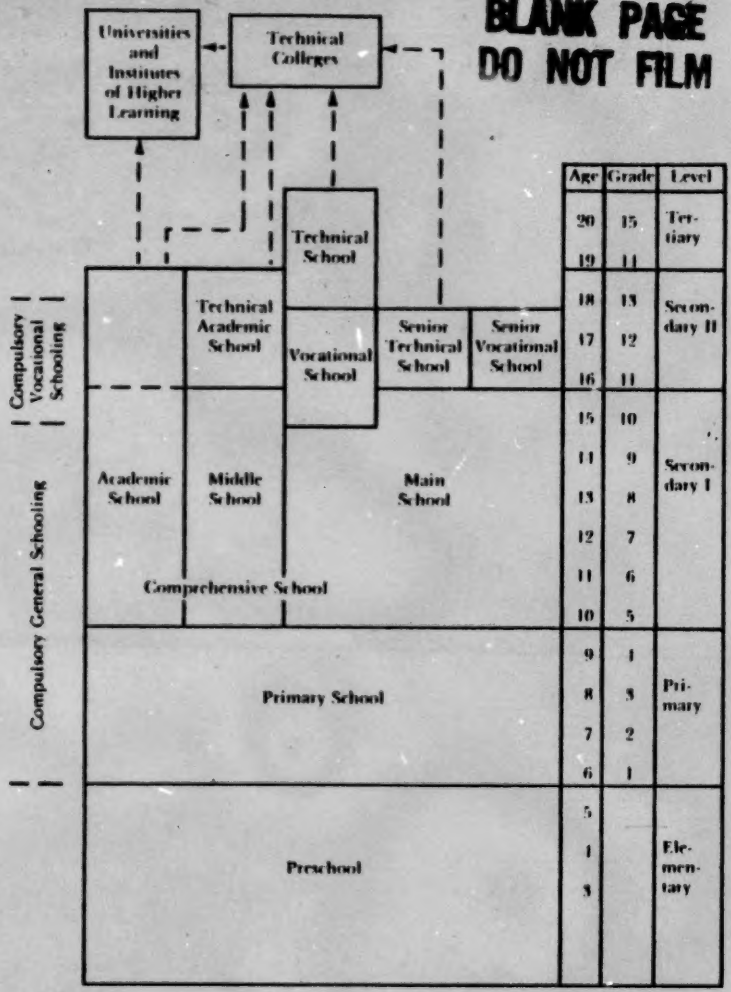

Fig. 1. Education system of the Federal Republic of Germany

school system was made in 1920 when all children were required to attend a four-year primary school. Before that, children who wanted to go to the Gymnasium had to attend a prep school.

The Third Reich

Educational reform stopped with the onset of the Third Reich under Hitler. Developing liberal trends gave way to the conservative autocratic ways of Hitler's rule. Educational leaders claimed that the system had been brought completely in line with the goals and thinking of the National Socialist ideology so not much was changed at first. However, in 1934 the educational system was centralized, with the goal of furthering "racially pure" individuals who would serve the governing ideology. Children were taught to hate outsiders and to distrust people who were different and therefore "dangerous." They were also encouraged to challenge traditional institutions and their representatives, such as teachers.

Teachers as well as other civil servants were forced to join the National Socialist Party and to prove their Aryan heritage. This conflicted greatly with the professional ethics of many, and they suffered under the compromises they had to make. The variety of secondary schools was reduced. The secondary school leaving certificate could be attained after 12 years instead of 13. Where it existed, coeducation was eliminated to emphasize sex role differences. Physical education received primary emphasis, and training of the mind became secondary.

To insure loyal leadership in the National Socialist movement, special schools were introduced for boys and girls. Here students were trained for leadership roles in the party hierarchy. The various National Socialist youth organizations were another part of this training to make sure that young people were well indoctrinated.

All changes that took place between 1933 and 1945 were abandoned after the collapse of the Third Reich. The educators who were left turned back to the system as it functioned prior to 1933.

Dieter's grandparents were at their prime during the National Socialist period under Hitler and can vividly recall it. That generation still lives with many reminders of this period, which many wish they

could erase because it brought shame and disaster to a people proud of their accomplishments throughout history. For many years after, no one talked about National Socialism because of the fear of being associated with the abuses of that time and of being persecuted for taking part in them. It is only recently that this period has been more openly discussed, partly because the children and youth just slightly older than Dieter were curious about it and wanted to know more. For example, in 1978 the television special *Holocaust* was shown on national television.

Post-World War II

After 1945 the allied occupation forces had some influence on the educational system. As a result, German educators sought to establish an educational system committed to democratic principles, social justice, peace, and understanding among all people. Demands for equal educational opportunity were also made. The responsibility for education returned to the 11 states, whose constitutions were drafted and accepted before the Federal Republic of Germany was established. With the nation now divided, the educational system in the two Germanys developed in very different directions.

Despite the attempt at new directions, the influence of the occupation forces was short-lived. The next two decades were characterized by a return to a normal state of living. Schools had to be rebuilt and the teacher corps restored. As in all other areas of German life in this period, there was an enormous amount of activity and much energy expended in reconstructing the educational system.

Problems arose because the educational systems of the 11 states operated independently. Curriculum content as well as methodology varied from state to state. It became difficult for a student to change schools from one state to another. The federal government led various attempts to get some agreement among the states, and these efforts produced significant reform ideas, some of which were implemented and some remain to be tested.

First to be established was the Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder). In 1953 a committee of experts from the state

and federal governments found that only wide-ranging reforms could bring the schools up to the demands of modern times. One of the most significant changes proposed was to abolish the entrance examination to the academic secondary school (Gymnasium). Instead, a two-year observation period was to be established for all three types of secondary schools. During this time the students were to be observed, tested, and then sent to the school in which they would be the most successful. Although this proposal was gradually accepted and implemented, other measures proposed by this group met with less success.

In 1965 an agreement between the federal government and the states established the German Education Council, a consultative body composed of scientists and representatives of local, state, and federal governments. In addition to proposing a comprehensive school (Gesamtschule) that would incorporate many reform elements, this council published the *Structural Plan for Education*, which was used as a basis for educational planning and reform. In 1970 the federal government, then having a liberal majority, published a reform program, the *Federal Government Report on Educational Policy, '70.* This program contained incentives for structural changes in the education system. Still another commission published the *Comprehensive Plan for Education*, which projected to 1985 the development of the education system in the Federal Republic. Each of these documents was to influence subsequent planning and development.

Traditional Attitudes Toward Education

While all this activity among government officials, researchers, politicians, and education officials was forward-looking and exciting, the influence of tradition was and still is very strong. The Schmidts, for example, take pride in being successful, having a comfortable home, and providing a good education for their son so he can do better than they. They know that education provides the most direct access to success and to earning respect, and they are very concerned about these aspects of their son's life. They, like most German parents, are willing to support their child until his education is completed, which might be when he is 25. Yet school provides only a part of Dieter's education. Essentially it provides a solid academic background and that is

all. For the rest of his education, Dieter's parents assume active roles. They impart to him the values he needs to help him become an active and worthwhile member of society. With their help Dieter will establish definite goals for himself, and they will see that he acquires what is needed to reach those goals.

In contrast, Germans would say that in the U.S. education is largely up to the schools, which provide the student with a broad range of life skills, academic subject matter, and some vocational education. Perhaps more importantly, in the U.S. school is a place where much social learning takes place and where it is up to the individual to develop his own talents.

Schools in Germany are noted for academic excellence. Teachers are thoroughly trained, student motivation is high, and achievement is prized. It is only recently that these traditional attributes have come into question. For most Germans excellence is still the standard; therefore, failure in a school, class, or grade-level is difficult to accept. Parents would rather pay for outside tutoring than allow their children to fail. However, it is understood that if a child cannot do the work, he will fail. There is no social promotion.

Although educational reform necessarily involves considerable political activity, most German citizens do not take an active part in party or local politics. Politics is a favorite topic of conversation, often provoking heated debate, but most people, even though informed and regularly voting, feel that governing should be left up to the elected officials. They are the leaders, at least for their term of office. Thus, a sense of public duty and obligation is quite separate from private goals and private pursuit of happiness. Participating in politics still carries the stigma of the Hitler era when people were forced to participate; when disaster followed they were forced to accept the blame and shame. Democracy is accepted and practiced more out of a sense of duty. The tendency is still to accept some form of authority, even if it rests in an institution such as the school.

In school, democracy is an idea grafted onto the given structure. It is taught rather than practiced. Discipline is highly valued. It is each person's moral and civic duty to master the world around him. In order to do this, he must have discipline. Learning to live with frustration,

discomfort, and even pain; exhibiting self-control, concentration, and perseverance—these are traditional qualities that are still reinforced in German society.

Increasing Educational Opportunity for All

Beginning in the early 1960s the education system in the Federal Republic of Germany experienced tremendous enrollment expansion in the various programs and schools. At the elementary level (preschool) between 1965 and 1975 available places increased about 60%; thus about two-thirds of the children in this age group could be accommodated. The primary schools increased their enrollment by about 25% over the same period.

At secondary level I there was both expansion and reduction. In 1965 the main schools accommodated 61% of the available students; by 1974 they accommodated only 49%. In contrast, the middle and academic secondary schools had a tremendous increase in enrollment. The number of students in middle school more than doubled, and the population of the academic secondary school increased about 83%. Comprehensive schools accommodated about 3% of this age group. The upper level of the academic secondary school, in secondary level II, doubled its 1965 population. This was due, in part, to the increased number of students who remained in school to obtain the secondary leaving certificate.

The number of students receiving this certificate almost tripled from 1965 to 1974. Included were students who finished senior vocational and senior technical schools successfully. This increase created a problem for universities because they were not able to accommodate all the students who desired to attend. Thus the selective admissions process was established, which prevented many students from studying at the university of their choice and produced long waiting periods for students who did not have excellent academic records.

While concern has been expressed about reducing student anxiety by deemphasizing the competition for good grades, this has not been accomplished, and there is even more pressure on students who wish to qualify for a place in higher education. Even in the newer comprehensive schools tracking and competition had to be introduced since the

school leaving certificate is still interpreted in terms of the traditional three types of secondary schools.

At present educators and others are seeking to abolish the restrictions for university entrance and to guarantee every student a place in higher education, except in medicine, pharmacy, and psychology because of limited facilities.

Structure of the Educational System

As depicted in Figure 1, the German educational system consists of schools for general education, vocational schools, technical colleges, and universities. Compulsory education is for students between 6 and 18 years of age, but for some, full-time schooling ends at 14 or 15 years of age, after which students must attend at least part time.

Elementary Level

Dieter's preschool education, if he had any, was akin to that offered in the U.S. It is a private enterprise supported by churches, industry, and individuals. Since this level is considered very important for the child, it is one of the major areas for reform efforts. It is recognized that the number of preschools needs to be increased and the training of personnel updated. Compensatory education should be expanded for children coming from socially and culturally disadvantaged backgrounds. Programs must emphasize language, motor, and social skills, while fostering motivation for later learning. Most important, individual needs and development of the whole person need to be emphasized. No systematic instruction should take place at this level.

A special kind of preschool has been established for those children chronologically ready for schooling but not physically or mentally mature enough to be successful. These children receive special training in preschools that are part of the public school system.

Primary Level

In contrast to our straightforward 6-3-3 or 6-2-4 public school organizational structure, the German system gets very complicated after the first four years. It used to be much simpler. The old *Volksschule*

(people's school) educated 80% of the children to age 14, after which they went on to trade schools or to prep schools for the university. In contrast, Dieter will attend primary school (Grundschule) until age 10.

Although the entrance age (6 years) to primary school is still under discussion, the tendency is to allow the child to enter as early as he is ready or mature. Thus, it has become important to have teachers, physicians, and psychologists examine the child to determine his maturity level. Based on their findings, recommendations might be to enroll the child in regular classes, in a preschool attached to the school, in a transitional class, or in special education. Thus Dieter and his classmates are highly likely to be psychologically, mentally, as well as chronologically ready for their first school year.

The character and the instruction of German schools has changed from a folk-oriented curriculum to one in which identifiable subject-matter—mathematics, music, art, religion, and physical education—is taught in a more systematic way, that is, in separate courses. Therefore, instead of staying with one teacher throughout the day as in the U.S., Dieter in grades 1 and 2 has his homeroom teacher two-thirds of the time and in grades 3 and 4 only one-third of the time. The rest of the day is spent with subject matter teachers.

Throughout the educational system, differentiation of instruction has become a critical concern. In recognizing that students learn at different speeds and have different interests and attitudes toward learning, teachers are encouraged to use various methods of instruction. Total class teaching was deemphasized in favor of teaching smaller learning groups within a class. Tracking, however, is not recommended; within a class each student is advanced according to his ability.

Experiments have been made with foreign language study, using the "whole word method," where the child learns whole words and sentences and identifies the letters and sounds later, and with modern mathematics (theory of sets). Such experiments require small classes, and this has been a reform issue. Class size in primary grades is about 25. Homework is required each day with about 30 minutes recommended in the first two years and no longer than 60 minutes in the last two years. However, Dieter will work much longer if necessary be-

cause his parents value academic achievement. Here is where slow learners or the educationally handicapped encounter enormous difficulties.

Since the primary schools are to prepare students for the diversified secondary schools, students have a tremendous amount of pressure to do extremely well right from the beginning. Dieter's parents, for example, will see to it that he does his homework first before playing. They will require him to show proper respect to his teachers and to the education he is receiving. Dieter's parents, however, have much more to say about his education than parents of previous generations. Through conferences with teachers and through parent advisory groups, their wishes are made known—a fairly new phenomenon in German education. Some of the advisory groups are quite influential in educational issues.

Secondary Level I

When Dieter finishes primary school, he will be at a critical stage of his education, because the next step may well decide his educational future. There are four secondary schools open to him: the main school (Hauptschule), middle school (Realschule), and academic secondary school (Gymnasium), along with a new arrival, the comprehensive school (Gesamtschule). Each school opens up different educational avenues. Dieter, whose parents enjoy middle income and concomitant educational training, is by now under considerable pressure to do at least as well or better than his parents in his educational career. What kind of education will he receive at these schools?

Main School (Hauptschule). Comprising grades 5 through 10, this school's purpose is to enable the student to appreciate and have access to his cultural heritage and to participate politically, socially, and vocationally in his world to the best of his ability. The prerequisite to entering this school is to pass successfully all requirements of the primary school.

The main school used to be considered terminal, but reform efforts have changed the curriculum to conform more to the middle and academic secondary schools. Subject content is more demanding. By closing small country schools and busing students to central locations,

these schools have become more efficient and offer more options.

Required subjects in the main school are religion (according to professed belief), German, history/politics, geography, English, mathematics, physics/chemistry, biology, industrial arts, music, art, and physical education. Students are grouped according to ability and interest. Some subjects are taught in courses differentiated according to the students' abilities, especially mathematics and English. In some subjects study groups are offered. In addition, intensive studies in one subject area, such as natural sciences, industrial arts, literature, theater, music, art, and sports are offered.

A student wishing to continue his education or to change to another type of school must achieve very well, especially in the differentiated courses and in the study groups. If he completes ninth grade with excellent grades, he may enter a special tenth-grade class, and upon successful completion of tenth grade he will receive the middle school leaving certificate. This certificate is important because it makes possible several options. The student may enter a senior vocational or senior technical school or the eleventh grade in academic secondary school. Students not wishing to go on after the ninth grade receive the main school's leaving certificate, a prerequisite for apprenticeship or vocational school. Those not meeting the requirements of the main school receive a final report card.

Even though the main school is no longer considered an educational dead end, this impression has been hard to shake since typically only low-performing students, who also usually belong to the lower socioeconomic class, attend main school. Thus a curriculum designed for this group that is specifically responsive to the group's needs would make transfer to the other types of secondary schools all the more difficult.

Dieter's background makes it highly unlikely that he will attend the main school. He may have friends down the street who do, though, and just as the parents are accepting of such differences, so are the children.

Middle School (Realschule). As its name implies, this school is in the middle of the others; it also enrolls the most students. It comprises grades 5 through 10 and may be either a separate institution or be connected with a main school. Its purpose is to prepare students for

jobs with higher skills that lead to higher economic returns and involve greater social responsibility. Besides the necessary general education, students receive the foundation and background for jobs in such areas as agriculture, commerce, trade, industry, administration, government services, nursing, social work, and technical and artistic endeavors.

Students in this school choose the direction they wish to pursue. After sixth grade, areas of emphasis are foreign language, mathematics, science, art, economics, and home economics. However, each student is required to take a core curriculum, consisting of religion, German, English, history, geography, music, and physical education.

Another difference between the main school and this one is that aside from English, which is mandatory, a second foreign language, usually French, is introduced. Here, too, the needs and interests of the students are considered, and those electing not to take French may in grades 7 and 8 take classes in social and economic subjects and in grades 9 and 10 take classes in mathematics and natural sciences.

In some states students attend a short form of this school if they have been successful in the main school up to the sixth grade. At this point they change over and can attain a middle school leaving certificate without losing any time.

Transferring from middle school to the upper level of the academic secondary school is difficult since the performance level required in each type of school is still very different. Therefore, special classes have been created to make the transition easier, although the requirement of a second foreign language remains a barrier. The academic school leaving certificate with two languages allows the student to go on to the university unrestricted in his area of study. For the middle school student, special study plans have been set up that allow him to get by with only one foreign language and still enter the university. However, he is restricted to one subject field.

To obtain a leaving certificate from the middle school, students in some states must undergo special examination and in others must achieve satisfactory performance in the final year. The leaving certificate entitles the student to enter the upper level of the academic school, senior technical schools (Höhere Fachschulen), or to go on to practical

training in business and administration while attending a vocational school.

The middle school has become more and more popular because of the increased desire for more and better education. It is a good compromise between the main school and the academic secondary school. It has aided in tapping the educational reserves of the general population, particularly in rural areas. However, to avoid having the main school stigmatized as the type for less able students, it will be necessary for the curriculum in both types of schools to become better integrated without creating a greater gap between the academic requirements of middle and academic secondary schools.

Although Dieter's parents may themselves have come from the middle school, it is likely they will be disappointed if Dieter chooses this type of secondary school. Dieter, who wants to be a teacher, may feel otherwise. To qualify for his career choice he could complete middle school (with a second foreign language), transfer to academic secondary school, take some remedial courses to catch up there, complete the last three years and get his leaving certificate, and then attend the university. What he will do depends on how ambitious he is and what pressures he can take at what age. Going to middle school now postpones some academic pressures, though certainly not parental ones. What Dieter and, realistically, his parents decide when he is age 10 may change when he reaches age 12. At that time, when the second foreign language is introduced, he may want to and be able to switch. After that, switching schools becomes very complicated and will put Dieter too far behind other students his age.

Academic Secondary School (Gymnasium). This type of school has been the foundation for academic excellence and high performance in German education. Historically, it was the school of the elite, attended only by children of the upper socioeconomic classes. Thus reform efforts have caused it to undergo the greatest changes over the last two decades.

The academic secondary school includes grades 5 through 10, which belong to the secondary level I, and grades 11 through 13, which belong to the secondary level II. Each level will be discussed separately.

The importance of this school is indicated by its high degree of dif-

ferentiation. There are academic schools for old languages (Humanistische Gymnasien), for new languages (Neusprachliche Gymnasien), for natural sciences and mathematics (Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Gymnasien), for social studies for girls (Sozialwissenschaftliche Mädchengymnasien), for economics and business (Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Gymnasien), for fine arts and performing arts (Musische Gymnasien), for educational sciences (Erziehungswissenschaftliche Gymnasien), for women (Gymnasien für Frauenbildung), and for technical subjects (Technische Gymnasien). Aside from these there are several that allow students from main or middle school to catch up with their age group and obtain an academic secondary leaving certificate (Abitur).

The goal of the academic secondary school is to prepare the student for the university or other institutes of higher learning as well as to provide the necessary prerequisites for training in jobs requiring high intellectual skills.

The transition from primary school to the secondary level has been criticized for years, since those who wanted to go to the middle school or academic secondary school had to pass an examination. No examination was needed for the main school. Critics argued that many students had their career options curtailed at an early age because their parents did not insist they take the tests. Professional people sent their children to the academic secondary school, merchants and self-employed business people encouraged their children to go to middle school, and the rest of the parents sent their children to the main school. Once in one type of school there was very little chance of change to another. The schools were in effect distributing social chances and perpetuating social class distinctions on the basis of which group a student came from.

One of the first reforms was to eliminate this entrance examination and replace it with two alternatives. In the first, students whose parents indicate a desire for their children to go on to middle or academic secondary school are subjected to experimental instruction and observation by teachers from those schools as well as their primary school. The primary school teacher's judgment is considered most important in the evaluation.

The second method, a reform mentioned earlier involving special transition classes, has gained more acceptance in the schools. Throughout the secondary level, grades 5 and 6 have been designated as an orientation and observation period to allow extra time for teachers, students, and parents to decide on the appropriate school for the child. Presently these two grades are still organizationally part of the various secondary school types. Eventually this level will be completely separated from the secondary school.

Today it is possible for Dieter's parents to insist he be tested for academic secondary school even if his primary level teacher does not recommend him for it. Even if he fails the examination, they can still get him into the school. He will be allowed several weeks there, after which his chances for success are evaluated.

Required subjects in the orientation level are taught in a heterogeneous group, preferably by one teacher, to provide continuity from the primary school. These subjects include social studies, natural sciences, a foreign language (English), mathematics, and physical education. After the first semester English and mathematics are taught at different achievement levels. If students experience difficulties in required subjects, special courses are given to help them.

One of the main reform objectives has been to increase the number of students receiving the academic secondary school's leaving certificate. One effort in this direction was to eliminate the entrance examination as discussed above. Another was to revise and update the curriculum. Latin as a first foreign language was abolished and replaced with English or French. The curriculum has been revised and updated, and a limit has been put on the number of examinations and on the number of subjects in which examinations could be given.

Since the academic secondary school had so many forms, it was confusing for parents and students to choose the right type, especially in large cities where more choices were available. In rural areas the student is usually restricted to the academic secondary school within reasonable distance from home. To avoid this confusion, all secondary schools now teach the same subjects in grades 5 through 10, although the depth can be different. Thus in most states the decision as to which school the student can attend on the basis of ability and interest has

theoretically been postponed until the secondary level II, which includes grades 11 through 13.

Required subjects in all academic secondary schools include religion, German, history, sociology, geography, music, and art. In grades 7 through 9 there is more differentiation toward the specialization of the school. Differentiation in mathematics and English begins in grades 5 and 6. A student may change from achievement level to achievement level. He is also able to change from one school to another without losing any time. The best time for a move is when a new language is introduced, in grades 7 and 9. As previously mentioned, students like Dieter from middle school and others from main schools may also transfer in, and special courses are usually provided to help them catch up.

Students successfully completing grade 10 may go on to secondary level II of the academic school, or they may receive a leaving certificate similar to that from middle school.

Dieter's parents are likely to want him to attend an academic secondary school. They are also likely to get their wish, for they will have been supportive of Dieter's academic efforts, demanding more where he is lacking, providing tutors when necessary, and, in general, reinforcing success. Dieter's career choice also makes him a logical candidate for this school. If after entering the school it becomes apparent that he cannot be successful, Dieter can always switch to the middle school. This is, in fact, quite often done. Less often a student from the middle school will switch to the main school.

Comprehensive School (Gesamtschule). This type of school, which began as an experiment, has come to play an important part in the German educational system and in its educational politics. Reform-minded theorists, educators, and politicians alike have seized on this school as the answer to many of the problems and demands facing the educational system. There has been widespread discussion as to whether the tripartite secondary school system was acceptable in a democratic society or whether the comprehensive school should replace it. Proponents claimed the comprehensive school was pedagogically the most effective and socially the most just form of education and thus came closest to the principles of a democratic society. Regardless

of how anyone felt about it, the comprehensive school has become a laboratory for educational reform.

The school comprises grades 5 through 10 and requires no examination for admission. As in the other schools, the first two years are observation and orientation periods, and required subjects include religion, German, natural sciences, foreign language, mathematics, physical education, and polytechnic. (Polytechnic acquaints students with the world of work and provides them with some basic skills.) Most of the required subjects are taught in heterogeneous groups. These groups are thus a mixture of students who otherwise would have been separated in the tripartite school types. After the first semester English and mathematics are taught at three to four different levels of achievement. Usually the higher the grade the more differentiated the instruction. However, since differentiation occurs in subject areas and since different levels of instruction are available in the same building, the separation of students is only temporary. Students with great deficiencies in a subject are given compensatory courses to help them catch up with their group.

Students may choose subjects according to their interests and abilities from a required elective area. They may choose a second foreign language in the seventh grade and a third one in the ninth grade. They may also choose special courses in subject areas already taken, such as German, natural sciences, music, art, and polytechnic.

Teaching in the comprehensive school requires more from the teacher than in the traditional tripartite system. Constant evaluation has to take place to insure that students are achieving to the best of their abilities, and this has become a point of controversy. Since the school concept was so new, teachers had to develop curricula practically on the spot. They had to be very aware of individual students' needs. Since teacher training did not include curriculum development, and since theorists were far removed from everyday practice, questions were raised right from the beginning about the school's ability to meet the students' needs properly.

At its best, the comprehensive school provides individualization along with much differentiation to meet the students' needs and interests. However, the student's leaving certificate is given according to

his level of achievement in terms of the main, middle, or academic secondary schools. Thus there is not much incentive to support this innovative school.

For Dieter such a school would be a very unlikely choice. Even if there were one near his home and his neighborhood strongly endorsed it, Dieter's parents, committed as they are to the tradition of excellence and academic achievement, would probably not let him attend it.

Even though to us it would seem that our friend Dieter has quite a few options for his secondary education, his family background and career choice make it most likely he will attend an academic secondary school. He really has no other choice.

Special Education. Many reforms have been made for the educationally and physically handicapped. The number of special schools has doubled over the last decade and the number of teachers trebled. Efforts are made to diagnose disabilities as early as possible so that the student can be trained and returned to the educational mainstream as soon as possible. Still, there are not enough services for all the students who need them.

It is worth noting that German students at age 15 are at about the achievement level of U.S. high school graduates. They have reached this level with fewer clock hours of instruction. Primary level students attend school for about three to four hours, secondary students for five hours. The instruction, however, is intense, for the teachers are well trained in both their major subject area and in principles of pedagogy. There is much homework for the student. Instruction takes place six days a week. Vacations are more staggered than in the U.S. There are six weeks of summer vacation, two weeks in winter, one in fall, and three in spring.

Thus at the secondary level, the student has a general but very thorough background from which to begin to specialize. Such thoroughness continues throughout the education system, and this trait is no doubt greatly responsible for the Germans' noted technical ability. Their "know-it-all" attitude, which can be offensive to some, is really quite natural for them. They are surprised when taken to task for this. They have been thoroughly grounded in their field, and they also have a very broad, but substantial, general education and are not afraid to

use their knowledge and give opinions based on that knowledge in casual conversation.

Secondary Level II

At this level, a comparison between the German and American education system definitely breaks down. Our secondary education ends with high school graduation, and beyond that we usually think in terms of universities or colleges. In Germany the situation is quite different and, to an American, this level of education can seem very bewildering because there are so many branches and sub-branches, particularly among the vocational schools, which are highly specialized. Figure 1 gives only a generalized view of how diversified and specialized this level is. Since specialization is so intense, transition from one school to another with different emphasis is not as easy as in secondary level I.

Dieter and his parents do not find the education system bewildering at this level at all. They know that the school he chose in secondary level I, the subjects he took there, and his achievement level or aptitude will determine the correct path among many for him to take. Since his education is so directly related to the vocation he has decided to pursue, more schooling in his field holds very tangible rewards for him: each certificate grants him better status, higher pay, greater respect, and more responsibility in the working world.

Academic Secondary School, Upper Level. At this level, the method of instruction changes. Grade levels are replaced by courses catering to the interest of the student and giving more in-depth study of a subject. Dieter, who would like to teach English, will be submerged in courses that deal with literature, writing, drama, medieval English, American literature, etc. For this major his minor must be another foreign language, usually French. Students pursuing this course of study will eventually speak both languages fluently, with their English pronunciation sounding very British.

The student can take both basic and more specialized courses. There is room for individual approaches and for independent study. Since this level is designed to prepare the student for studies at the university, the general study course offered is very much like the first years of col-

lege in other countries. German, mathematics, and a foreign language (English) are mandatory subjects, along with a second or third foreign language, biology, chemistry, art, music, pedagogical sciences, religion, and physical education. Some of these subjects can also be chosen as electives. Other electives are economics, philosophy, and a third language as a beginning course.

In general, the leaving certificate entitles the student to continue studies at the university or technical colleges, but some leaving certificates allow the student to attend only the technical college for the specific subject he majored in. Also, some upper-level academic schools are specifically organized to help students from other types of secondary schools prepare for a higher educational level.

The leaving certificate is received after an oral and written examination. The written part covers four subjects: German, mathematics, one foreign language, and one other subject, depending on the type of school. In the oral examination the student is tested in from one to three out of six subjects. Among these are the four subjects in which the student has taken the written examination, one in social studies, and one the student chooses from other subjects taken during the last year.

The secondary leaving certificate can also be attained by attending evening school or preparing oneself privately for the examination. The student has to be at least 22 years old to be admitted to such an examination. For certain branches of higher education, special admission examinations are given for those who did not attend academic schools.

Technical Academic School (Technisches Gymnasium). This school prepares the student for admission to the technical college or for a specialized field at a university. Had he not been able to attend academic secondary school, Dieter would have taken further education here. Most middle school students seeking higher education attend this school.

Vocational Education

The rest of secondary level II includes the various schools for vocational education. This area of German education has received a lot of attention and much experimentation. It is highly differentiated, divided according to the demands of the various trades, dependent on

the country's economic situation, and changing as technological advances are made.

Vocational School (Berufsschule). Most of Dieter's primary school friends who attended main school will also attend this school. They will apprentice themselves in the vocation of their choosing and will attend school for nine to 11 hours a week. Here they receive theoretical background for their trade along with instruction in religion, politics, German, economics, and physical education. Instruction usually takes place once a week on a regular work day. Students attend this school until they are 18 years old. With the leaving certificate, they can go on to more advanced vocational schools. At the end of an apprenticeship they take an examination, which is not, however, administered by the school.

Senior Vocational School and Senior Technical School. Besides providing general education, this school exists primarily for specialized vocational education. It is attended full time, usually for two years. There are vocational schools for technical professions, including metal, electronics, construction, wood, and others; schools for business and commerce that prepare the student for secretarial jobs in business and industry or for small business operations; schools for domestic and social work, schools for agriculture, and schools for child and social welfare. Time spent in this school can shorten the length of an apprenticeship.

Technical School. Students who have learned a profession or vocation attend these schools to advance their knowledge and prepare themselves for higher positions in their field or for admission to a technical college and eventually to their special area of study at the university. Those who leave middle school or the eleventh grade of an academic secondary school can attend the technical school as well. There are numerous possibilities for getting from vocational schools to institutions of higher education. There are also schools where students who have finished senior technical school can prepare for technical college. All these schools provide students with certification documenting their qualifications for further education or for job entrance.

In addition to the above, there are evening schools for middle and academic school students to help them qualify for their leaving certifi-

cate. They are open only to students who have a job and have received formal training for this job. This kind of education is called the alternative education path (Zweiter Bildungsweg) and includes vocational continuation schools (Berufsaufbauschulen) and technical schools as well. It is very time-consuming and difficult; many students cannot finish. Some leave their job to enter preuniversity courses (Kollegs) or institutes to qualify for university entrance.

Tertiary Level

This level includes universities and institutes of higher education. The distinction between these is that universities are oriented toward science and research while the institutes, such as those for art, music, physical education, and pedagogy (Hochschulen), are professional schools and are not necessarily research-oriented. The duration of study varies from subject to subject and ranges from eight to 12 semesters. In some subjects there are enrollment restrictions (numerus clausus). Where this occurs, openings are allocated on the basis of grade point average, time elapsed since receiving the secondary leaving certificate, and other individual factors. Studies at these institutions terminate with an examination.

Universities used to be completely autonomous but are now under more state control. The image of the professor has changed as well. He or she is no longer only a researcher. Today professors must exhibit communication and organizational skills and be effective in working with many groups outside the university.

Educational Administration

According to the Federal Republic of Germany's constitution, the responsibility for education lies with the states. In 1969 the constitution was amended to involve the federal government more in educational planning and to allow it to establish interregional research institutes. The federal government was also authorized to establish a general framework for higher education. To carry out these functions, a Ministry for Education and Science was established. Subsequently, a commission for educational planning was created in which both the federal government and the states were represented.

Within the states, control of primary, main, and middle schools is the responsibility of the county or city government. The local government is also responsible for maintenance of the schools and for hiring the clerical staff. Although local governments influence the hiring of teachers and principals, they are considered state employees.

A district (Regierungsbezirk) is made up of several counties. The academic secondary schools as well as the secondary level II schools fall under district jurisdiction. Although there is some variation among the states, the district government is usually an intermediate step between the local and state government.

At the state level, the Minister of Culture, who is responsible to the state parliament, is in charge of educational planning and policy. Within this ministry are departments for the various types of schools. Here ideas and research are translated into practical programs that also meet political and social demands.

It is still difficult for a student to transfer among the states without losing time. Some agreements have been made regarding fall starting times and staggered summer vacations, but the states still jealously guard their sovereignty.

Parent advisory groups at school, county, district, and state levels insure public participation in educational planning and reform. Such participation represents a degree of democratization in German education that did not previously exist.

Influences on Curriculum Development

With the change in German schools' organizational structure came the need for change in the curriculum as well. Taking into account research findings as well as society's new demands, a curriculum was needed that included all aspects of life, not just the systematic teaching of traditional subject matter fields. All areas of living—family life, housing, interrelationships with people, politics, religion, art, sports, and entertainment—were to be included. The development of new curricula has become the most important task of educational reform.

Different groups are involved in this task. Curriculum development is done by teachers at the local school level, with some feedback from parents and the community. Such development occurs within a framework (Lehrplan) set by the state. Researchers are also concerned with curriculum development. Their long-range projects seek to bring about profound innovations. Others involved in this task are the politicians and the state ministries of culture, all of whom are concerned with more immediate reform measures.

In addition to the researcher and the practitioner, the federal government, through its legislative and administrative function, is also vitally involved in curriculum development. Since the federal government in Germany has relatively less influence on educational policy than do the state governments, it has resorted to research commissions and consulting institutions on both the federal and state levels to legitimize its decisions. The German Education Council and the commission that published the long-range plan for the development of the educational system called *Comprehensive Plan for Education* were mentioned in an earlier section.

Political parties in Germany exert a special type of influence and have much to say about educational policy. On the federal as well as the state level the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party seek educational reform, while the Christian Democratic Party tends to be conservative and cautious about innovation. As a result, curriculum reform is taking place in those states where the more liberal parties are in control. Various special interest groups are also involved because conservative groups in industry and business fear that a new curriculum might be too revolutionary and could overthrow the present social order.

The situation in the state of Hesse provides an example of the interplay between politics and educational reform efforts. In the early 1970s the ruling parties in Hesse were the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party. The stated goals of the Social Democratic Party were equality of educational opportunity, optimal development of the individual, social integration, and the revision of curriculum content. The curriculum guidelines proposed for the study of German and for the social studies were criticized by employers. Aided by the conservative Christian Democratic Party and a parent group, the employers argued that the new curriculum was revolutionary in intent and could lead to the overthrow of the present social order. Proponents from the Social Democratic Party maintained the new curriculum would enable the student to become better aware of and motivated to exercise his rights so that the discrepancy between constitutional promise and reality would be abolished.

The outcome of this controversy was that the curriculum guidelines for German were withdrawn for revision, and those for social studies were altered so that critical statements about society were either deleted or changed to make them inoffensive to critics. By the time the revised guidelines for German were discussed, the three authors most instrumental in drafting them had left the group and were replaced by more conservative representatives from the Free Democratic Party. At the end of 1974 the Free Democratic Party made the continuation of its coalition with the Social Democratic Party dependent on the resignation of the left-oriented minister of culture, who had championed educational reform efforts.

Thus many forces influence curricular development, each one trying to justify its position. The government is caught up in the pressures of needing to maintain authority, of serving special interest groups, and of coping with economic factors. Until 1974 innovations were welcome. New building programs, for example, were readily approved. However, the economy changed and minimizing cost and increasing efficiency became governmental bywords. There followed a definite curb in educational spending, which brought educational reform virtually to a halt.

At the same time the power struggle between the states and the federal government slowed curriculum development. Educational planning is still the prerogative of the state. Even though the federal government has some say, it can only urge the states to cooperate and enforce the plans agreed upon. The states, however, do not wish to lose their sovereignty. Only a change in the Basic Law (constitution) of the Federal Republic, which does not seem likely within the foreseeable future, can enable the federal government to bring some unity to the system.

For Dieter, exactly how much and what kind of reform he gets in his schooling is to a large extent determined by the ruling party of his state. In North Rhine-Westphalia where his parents live, the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party are in control, and there is much educational experimentation. For example, in 1975 there were 24 comprehensive schools in that state, while in neighboring Baden-Württemberg, with half the population and the Christian Democratic Party in control, only seven comprehensive schools had been formed. However, even in North Rhine-Westphalia, those of Dieter's teachers who are reform-minded must go through a lot of red tape to make changes in pedagogical technique or curriculum.

Teacher Education

Since Dieter wants to be a teacher, he will have to finish academic secondary school or achieve a secondary leaving certificate by one of the other means available to him. Teacher education takes place in the university or an institute attached to the university. As a teacher Dieter will be a public servant entitled to civil service benefits, which in the Federal Republic are considerable. He will receive a salary allowing him to enjoy a fairly high standard of living, and in contrast to the experience of most U.S. teachers, he will be accorded great professional respect in his community. His parents will be very pleased with his career choice.

Teacher Education for Primary and Main Schools

Training for these schools is given in pedagogical institutes (Pädagogische Hochschulen), which are either part of a university or in some way attached to one. Research is conducted here and academic degrees are conferred, including the doctorate. Duration of studies is three years, but to receive an academic degree students must attend pedagogical institutes for another two to three years.

The subjects taught are more practical and cover more areas than those for teachers of the middle and academic secondary school. There is a basic course of study in educational sciences, which includes pedagogy, psychology, and a choice among philosophy, sociology, political sciences, and theology. In addition, the teacher can specialize in a field such as German, mathematics, or any other subject taught in these schools. In contrast to the older approach where the teacher taught all subjects, it has become common practice for a teacher in the

main school to specialize in a certain subject. However, the subject area is not studied in such depth as in other teacher training areas.

The method of instruction is very intense. Students have to take part in many observations and practice teaching sessions throughout their studies and during semester break. The first examination takes place after three years when theoretical studies have been completed. The examination is both written and oral and in some states it involves a practice teaching session also.

The next phase of training takes place at a school and lasts from 18 months to three years. During this time the teacher receives full salary and is required to teach almost a full load. In addition, teachers must attend seminars in which practical experiences are examined in light of the theory they have learned. After passing a second examination, the teacher receives certification for lifetime employment.

Teacher Education for the Middle School

Teachers for this school can be trained in two ways. The student can first become a main school teacher and then work toward the middle school level by studying part time at the university or privately. Usually though, he or she studies to take the teacher's examination at a university or related institute of higher learning. The middle school course of study is two semesters less than the one for teaching academic secondary school.

Studies are scheduled over six semesters, although in some states an additional two semesters are required. Students must study two subjects systematically and in depth. In addition, they must study general education systematically. Usually more emphasis is placed on mastering academic subject matter. These studies culminate in an oral and written examination and sometimes practice teaching as well. The candidate is required to show some competence in other areas too, such as music, the world of work, or sports. This is necessary, for example, in times of teacher shortage when teachers may be asked to take over areas for which they have not been formally trained.

In contrast to the strongly practical training of the main school teacher, here there is more emphasis on theory and subject matter. Practical and didactical training is confined to an 18-month period,

after which a second examination is given that is mostly concerned with the practice of teaching.

Teacher Education for the Academic Secondary School

Here students receive training in two subject fields that is thorough enough to qualify them as researchers or scientists in industry. Indeed, some students are those who decided late in their studies that they would rather be teachers, since such a position provides them with the security of civil service.

The minimum duration of studies is four years, and usually that is not enough. In the natural sciences studies will often take six or seven years. In addition to the two subjects students would like to teach, they have to show competence in philosophy and pedagogy and are required to take an examination in those areas at the end of the third year of studies. Students are examined in their subject areas at the end of their studies.

Practical training usually follows. Students teach eight to 10 hours a week under the supervision of an experienced teacher. They receive 60% of the starting salary for teachers and must attend seminars sponsored by the school administration. After a training period of 18 months, there is another examination consisting of practice teaching and questions in pedagogical and didactic areas. Upon successful completion of this examination, the student receives certification for teaching.

Teacher Education for Vocational Schools

The many types of vocational schools call for two kinds of teachers. The first are trained for four years at a university or an institute of higher learning such as a technical college. These students specialize in one area, such as home economics, agriculture, trade, business, or social work. Subjects such as German, biology, and English may also be studied with the vocational subjects. This is because the vocational schools teach general education subjects as well. Candidates for a teaching position have to undergo two examinations before being permanently accepted, and their status is comparable to that of a teacher in the academic secondary school. The salary is the same.

The second kind of vocational school teacher is one who has had

many years of practical experience in a trade or profession. Usually these teachers have special pedagogical skills and receive additional training in seminars. These teachers teach the practical subjects related to their trade.

Teacher Education in the Future

Even though content varies, there is great similarity in all areas of teacher training. To break down the status differences among teachers in various school types, the idea of a unified teacher training program has gained support from many sides. Instead of being trained for one school type, teachers would be trained for the various levels so that the vertical structure of the schools would give way to a more horizontal one. Thus, at the secondary level, for instance, teachers would be able to teach in all three school types. This practice is being followed in the comprehensive schools. However, tensions still arise among teachers with different qualifications.

Through continuing education financed by various levels of the educational system, teachers can update and advance their knowledge in subjects and in new methods of teaching and school management. They may be freed from teaching duties to attend courses of up to six weeks without loss of pay. Correspondence, television, and radio courses are also available to the teacher.

The role of teachers is in a state of change. Their function has changed from one of dispensing knowledge of facts to one of helping students to learn based on their needs. With thorough training in subject matter and learning methods, teachers must prepare students for a society that is in a state of change. They can no longer function solely as authority figures, but must encourage students to develop into self-directed, responsible adults.

Teachers' prestige is also in a state of change. Some believe that too much is demanded of them, especially in the way of reform. Many teachers feel they are not backed up enough by the educational administration and not enough help is given them. Nevertheless, the teaching profession is considered a desirable one by many students. An additional incentive is the job security and benefits that go along with the profession.

The teacher in the Federal Republic of Germany is relatively young on the average, owing both to the teacher shortage in earlier years and easier access to the university for all students. In the early 1970s every fifth male and every third female student decided to study for a teaching career. However, the job market has now changed. With the birth rate declining since 1965 and with the recent general economic squeeze, there is now a teacher surplus. Many universities and ministries of education warn that unless students are exceptionally qualified, they will find neither training places in the institutions nor placement after completing their studies. This makes admission to teacher education programs highly competitive in a highly achievement-oriented society.

Politics plays a role here. If political decisions were reversed, the teacher surplus could easily change into a shortage. Class size might be reduced, the school day might be lengthened, an additional school year might be added, and the teacher's schedule might be reduced. Such decisions, all under discussion, would have ramifications for all of the educational system.

The Educationally Disadvantaged in Germany

No matter where Dieter goes to school, he will find classmates different from him in their appearance and in their language. These are the children of foreign workers. Foreign or guest workers (Gastarbeiter) have been a part of the West German economy since shortly after World War II. Originally they were recruited to alleviate the labor shortage in various industries. What was considered a temporary measure at the time resulted in a massive shift of people from other areas of Europe to Germany. Many chose to stay permanently. From about 0.8% of the working force in Germany in 1959, guest workers accounted for 12% in 1973. Even though the number of workers may have stabilized because of the economic situation, their population is increasing. Foreign families are producing 120,000 children per year (1976 figures). With the birth rate among German families in a steady decline since 1965, by 1980 every fifth student in a given school will be a child of foreign parents. In some industrial centers foreign children already comprise 50% of the student population.

Guest workers are from Turkey, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Spain, and Portugal, among other countries. Under German law the children of these workers have the right to be educated, and thus German educators face quite a challenge. Essentially they must deal with three groups. First are those that come to Germany already having had some schooling in their home country. For these, the German experience will probably have only minor impact on their personality development. Next are those children that have come to Germany as preschoolers with no education in their home country. These two groups acquire a bicultural identity; that is, they mix their native cultural norms

with new ones learned in Germany. However, some young people never make the transition.

The third group of students consists of those born in Germany or brought there as babies. The group is gaining in importance since its number is increasing rapidly. The children are still considered foreign, but their first language is no longer that of their native country. In their families they function as interpreters. This brings a shift in family dynamics and problems of authority arise. Their assimilation into the German way of life is eventually complete and they are regarded as *Neu Deutsche* (new Germans).

Other groups are those children from marriages between Germans and non-Germans. These children are considered Germans. Then there are the children of guest workers who have been in the country for decades. They are a new generation of people who will visit their homeland only occasionally or not at all.

Probably the biggest barrier to all of these foreign children and adults is language. Some of Dieter's classmates from foreign countries can handle German very well. Others do poorly and appear to be shy. It is not uncommon for a child to have to function in four languages, depending on his parents' origins and when they came to Germany. Problems of language instruction include which language should be learned and which subjects should be learned in what language. The variety of cultural and subcultural backgrounds raises the question of how this heritage can be maintained while teaching German customs and ways of life to the children. Added to these problems is the fact that many teachers feel inadequately prepared to deal with foreign children because their training has given them no background for this situation. It is only recently that such problems have been addressed in the teacher training schools.

Consider the case of Tila, who also lives in Dieter's neighborhood. Her family, with five young children, has recently come from Turkey. Tila, the oldest, has been going to main school. She is very bright and seems to have adjusted well. While Dieter hardly understands Tila's parents, he thinks Tila speaks German quite well. Tila's parents both work, and her two youngest siblings are alone in the mornings until Tila gets home from school. The neighbors tolerate the family's dif-

ferent standards of deportment, dress, and cleanliness and leave the family alone. Tila must grapple with the needs of her siblings in addition to the challenges she herself faces. After school she accompanies the two siblings attending primary school to their apartment, tends to the youngest siblings, shops for groceries as best she can with the little money available, and prepares the evening meal. When her parents arrive home in the evening they are tired from their efforts to cope in this still strange country. The family's needs are overwhelming, and it is no wonder that Tila's homework is often not done and never corrected or even supervised by her parents.

In contrast to 25% of the German students, 60% of the foreign students must repeat classes. If these students cannot make up their deficiency, they will receive only a certificate of attendance with a final report card instead of a leaving certificate from the main school. Only 15% of the foreign students attend the middle or the academic secondary school. Schooling is compulsory at least part time until the age of 18, and in a time when it is hard to find training jobs for regular students, it is even worse for foreigners without the required certificate. They are eligible only for low-level jobs. If Tila, who is interested in being a beauty operator, has no certificate, she will forever be stuck washing hair and cleaning up the salon instead of cutting and styling hair, or managing the shop. Furthermore, young foreigners who came after 1974 cannot receive a work permit, a law made to discourage foreign families from entering the Federal Republic.

The states do provide assistance to help students like Tila overcome their difficulties. Preparatory classes and courses in German are offered at whatever level there is a need. This works well in urban but not in rural areas where there are not enough students. Such classes are designed for one year. Usually, however, it takes two years for a foreign student to be able to attend regular classes in German schools. There are also classes in which students receive special instruction in German customs as well as language. When offered, these can take the place of English, history, and social studies classes.

It is difficult enough for German children to do their assigned homework, but it is even more difficult for foreign students whose parents are not well versed in the language and who themselves have

only minimal education. Private and public organizations arrange for special afternoon help with homework, but the success of these programs is very limited and they reach only a few students. To deal with the foreign parents' concern that their children retain their native tongue, German educators do offer special courses in the native language, taught by native teachers whenever possible. However, such courses are an extra burden on the students and do not help them academically. Most students prefer not to attend them, therefore precluding possible reentry in schools if they return to their native land.

Foreign students in the middle or academic secondary schools who have made the transition to the German educational system are usually second generation. Special courses are also provided in these schools, and in at least a few schools, the students' native language is accepted as their first foreign language instead of English.

Thus the problem of the foreign student has not been solved and will not be for some time. Integration will be very difficult to achieve, at least in the foreseeable future. Language presents the greatest academic obstacle, but the sociological and economic problems are just as hard to overcome. American educators will recognize the list: cultural differences, lack of competitiveness, lack of family support and stability, poverty, and general deprivation.

Conclusion

Education in the Federal Republic of Germany is in flux and will remain so for many years. The intense reform activity of the 1960s, from federal government-sponsored research and local curriculum development to mandated changes and experimental efforts, has been dampened by the changing political and economic climate. To be sure, the structure of the school system, particularly at the secondary level, has been changed, and more flexibility has been introduced to some extent. However, major changes, such as replacing the tripartite secondary school system with the comprehensive school, have not occurred. The German people are not about to abolish an educational system that has historically produced excellence in a vigorously competitive atmosphere. Thus, reform of teacher training and reform of the curriculum will evolve slowly in order to be consistent with German society.

Some trends can be projected:

1. Public education will expand to the preschool level.

2. The vertical educational structure will yield to a horizontal one, allowing the student to transfer more easily from one school to another. However, the comprehensive school will not replace the tripartite system.

3. The curriculum in all schools will be better researched and brought up to date and will be based less on tradition.

4. Schools will emphasize more self-direction on the part of the students and less authority from the teachers.

5. Educational planning will be based more on research and will remain under state authority.

6. The influence of the federal government in educational planning will increase, though slowly.

7. Intensive research and experimentation in the curriculum will continue and will affect instruction.

8. Competition for grades and achievement will remain, especially in light of the scarcity of jobs available and the fewer places offered by the universities.

9. Educators will continue their efforts to integrate the foreign children into the system, especially in urban areas where the need is greatest.

Political decisions and the general economy have slowed educational change in the Federal Republic, but the innovations begun are now being consolidated and given a firmer base. Dieter's education today is not that much different from his parents'. However, the implications of what has changed are great for the education of coming generations in Germany.